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only two persons were saved" /translated from French/.

to this day by the Yamana. the reports of missionaries and European travelers also refer to them. In Hyades (Q:302 we read: "Shipwrecks of canoes are very frequent and annually cause a high mortality. Mr. Bridges in his unpublished work cites many accidents of this kind. shipwreck of five canoes, 30 persons drowned. shipwreck of two canoes, 13 drowned..." /translated from French/. The accident is usually caused by overconfidence. These people are extremely reckless, and, as Bridges (Q:15 expresses it "venturesome in trusting themselves with comparative crazyness" /cited in English/, which every observer verifies. In most recent times, however, unprincipled thoughtlessness destroys many a life when Indians in a highly intoxicated state venture out on the treacherous waves although they do not have control of themselves.

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Supremely confident of their own ability, these people may even decide to take long journeys in their fragile vessel. As a rule, however, they stay within the narrow confines of their native district. every dialect group has one (p. 190 /untranslated/). Certain occasions, however, almost always the chase after the large ursine seal, *Otaria* (*Arctocephalus australis*), and the pursuit of a sick, weary whale, make them forget, in their eagerness, how far behind they have left the coast. It has been proved that a few families visited Isla Lidefonso; others are supposed to have ventured as far as the Diego Ramirez Islands. They are guided in their journeys by their exact knowledge of the locality and by an excellent gift of orientation.

Soon after the opening of the mission station in Ushuaia individual canoes arrived from great distances, even some from the Halakwulup. For example, Bridges (Q:15 mentions incidentally: "I know several natives of Cockerwidd who come to Ushuaia in the East and in the opposite direction as far as Port Gallant and Mercury Sound. this distance is considerably over two /hundred/ hundred miles" /cited in English/. Our Yaghans can accomplish these astonishingly distant journeys because, wherever they land, they provide for their needs in life, namely, meat from the most diverse types of animals, wood for the indispensible fire, and pieces of fur to protect their bodies.

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262 177 ma birds or seals are cooked in it. Along with European foods, the desire for salt was introduced there.

• 273 177 In the entire vegetable kingdom of the Cape Horn region there is not a sufficient amount of a single fruit that would be suitable for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The latter were unknown to the Yahgans until they were offered to them by Europeans. The navigators of earlier times often noted that our natives could not develop a taste for spirits. They have come to it only through frequent use in the last few decades (338). Whiskey is almost never

338. Dobbhoff (p. 197 from his own experience says: "Formerly they did not like alcoholic beverages, but now they have become accustomed to them through their contact with civilization and ardently desire them" /translated from Spanish/. Wingham. 37 and others say the same.

[273] 177 available to them. Instead they get the thick red wine from the Ushuaia region, which they call sipa, "blood." When they have an opportunity, they put a great deal of this into their stomachs, and since their nerves react to it immediately, they drag their drunkenness with its attendant symptoms about with them for days. A small amount is very hard on these natural people who are not accustomed to it, and the damage to their health is inestimable (p. 351 /unnumbered/) (337). A few /377/ persons, such as Billy

337. Dove 93 writes that when in these distant regions "civilization shrouded and brought along its inevitable accompaniments [alcohol and tobacco], it became clear that these sons of the wilderness [the Selk'nam] did not place any value on them. The Yahgan, on the other hand, quickly fell victims to the new luxuries and were capable of giving up their last skin [of seal and otter] for a piece of tobacco or a drink of whiskey." Compare in this connection the more detailed account on page 348 /unnumbered/.

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273 578 We should also mention that the present-day Yamana almost without exception partake avidly of alcohol whenever they can get it. When intoxicated, they quickly lose control over themselves, become pugnacious, and get into noisy, brutal quarrels, in which many a man has been badly wounded, made a cripple, or forfeited his life. Even the gentle, quiet Richard killed his first wife in a state of complete drunkenness, so Fred Lawrence declared. Such derangement with serious consequences was unknown in the better olden times.

c. Blood Vengeance

628 Premeditated, serious brawls between two large groups are always the result of a murder. Inasmuch as a person's life is regarded as precious and not to be harmed (p. 880), murder is considered a most execrable deed which, for lack of an existing judicial power, must be avenged by the nearest relatives of the unfortunate victim. Blood vengeance in this case, therefore, is the equivalent of a demand for expiation of the crime which caused the death of a member of the tribe. It does not matter in the least whether death occurred immediately or some time after an attack. This idea of blood vengeance is complemented by the duty of the nearest relative of a victim to carry it out personally or to take part in carrying it out. All adults are in complete agreement on this point.

Without doubt, the fear of strict and inescapable expiation for every murderous deed contributes to everyone being carefully on guard to avoid it. Bridges (MM:IX, 215;1875) confirms this: "Fear is the powerful agent, fear of man, fear of death; without the latter there would not be the former to any profitable degree. A man is restrained from taking life by fear, fear of his friends, as well as dread of those whose vengeance he has incurred by taking the life of one of their kin. For according to native usage, and necessarily springing from it, all the kindred /996/ of a murderer are held as sharers of his offence, and frequently suffer in his stead. For though they (selfishly) may be ever so angry with their relatives, the murderer, for thus making them liable, yea, not only liable, but certain to be partners of his punishment, yet they will not give him up to death, but will avenge his death if he is killed" /cited in English/.

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ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

517 A great deal of *Yahgan* recreation was incidental to the initiation and other rites and through the feasting and social activities that accompanied set events such as marriages, or chance meetings of families at camps, or larger gatherings of longer duration occasioned by treasure trove in the shape of stranded whale. In connection with some of even the more solemn rites there were intervals of free play releasing tensions developed during the more serious phases of the rites.

276 [273] Narcotics were totally lacking. No alcoholic or other intoxicating beverages were made or used by the *Yahgan* before their contact with the Whites. Nor was tobacco grown or in any form used.

531 Art.—There was no form of sculpture or of carving in wood. The only designs, if they can be called such, were the lines, dots, and circles used in face and body painting and in the ornamentation of lodges and paraphernalia in connection with the major rites (fig. 14). There was a certain crude artistry in bodily decorations and in the personal adornments referred to elsewhere in the present paper.

All in all, there are few if any peoples in the world that possessed a more rudimentary esthetic development than the *Yahgan* and their neighbors, the *Alacaluf* and *Ona*.

526 Games and sports.—There was no gambling, no games with elaborate rules, no team games unless group wrestling could be called such, and no competitive games except wrestling.

524 857 Boys practiced with the spear, bow and arrow, and sling, and at stone throwing, but this was as much vocational as recreative activity.

There were certain quite simple children's play activities, such as swinging, rolling down hillocks, endurance hopping on one foot, and group play such as tcenalóra, in which boys and girls crouched in a line one behind the other, sang together a melody in which the meaningless word "tcenalóra" was repeated, and slowly danced rocking back and forth in imitation of a canoe making its way forward through the waves. Songs sung on one long meaningless word were common accompaniments of children's group play.

[533] [481] All the women could swim; the men could not. Recreative swimming was rarely indulged in.

524 Adults' games, in some of which the children could participate, were equally simple. Such were: blindman's-buff, hopping and singing at the same time, throwing small burning sticks in the air, standing in a circle through which "it" in the middle tried to break. The ball game was popular: A ball made of seal gut stuffed with feathers or grass was kept in the air by the players with strokes from the palm of the hand. Men and women might play the ball game together.

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